3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.461-B] Teklum

682 704 756 location of the soul, *sč'ulel*, in the tongue, *yat*, wherein lies the particular power of the curer. This possibly suggested the mode of attack.

682 411 412 The instruments used to kill are carried by the farmers of this area most of the time. The men go to their milpa with a machete strapped to their side, a shotgun slung over their shoulder, and sometimes even a knife stuck in their waistband. They frequently interrupt work to hunt birds, rabbits, and deer. The shotgun does not excite suspicion or comment when it is seen. The men of Teklum are technologically prepared to kill in the course of an ordinary day's work.

[223] [224]

682 [152] [683] The number of wounds and the thoroughness with which the job is done (see Table 1) suggest not so much the fury of the assailants as the fear motivating their act. In a witch-killing, it appears to be thought necessary to hack up the victim completely so that his power is effectively ended: one witch was cut into 32 pieces; another had 166 wounds.

682 674 656 The death acts drawn up in the local courthouse have been increasingly specific in their statements as to the wounds inflicted ever since the government's intervention in the case of an accidental death in 1950. The local authorities were threatened with a fine of 600 pesos if the details were not properly recorded. The careful measurement of the body in relation to the road and to neighboring milpas and the measurement of the size and depth of the wounds provide the screen of complicity that wards off further investigation by federal authorities and preserves local independence. There is never any questioning of suspects or attempt to solve the crime by officials. The success of the ploy is illustrated in the following account:

> Pedro had animals at the spring and had gone out early with ropes in his bag to lasso them. He was found with a rope tied around his neck hung from a *čʼisib* tree. We went out and measured the length and thickness of the rope and how many centimeters it penetrated his neck. We put all these facts in the report, which gave the cause of death as suicide.
>
> At that time we had a schoolteacher in town who asked the dead man's wife why the town didn't investigate who killed him because someone must have done it. He went with the widow to the Ministerio Publico in the capital. Well, when they came out, there were all the facts in the death act. [Informant laughed heartily as he recalled this success.] He saw that we had discovered the body at 3 P.M., that the rope was 15 meters

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] [122] Study of social organization began in 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 241 ## Subsistence Patterns and Food Habits

The Milpa

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 804 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding; 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 412 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The

[P. 199-A]

241 machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of
[412] curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] The planting is done between April and
[412] May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or pro-
[242] tected by a metal point. The seed must come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small
[824] corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 The task of planting is a very delicate
462 matter, to be performed after fasting and
785 sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's
834 affair. A great banquet is served at noon,
241 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are
574 small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as
[476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 When things are properly done, the meal
262 consists of a number of items. First the
272 *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly
574 sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "com-
[263] panion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 After this preliminary snack comes what is
252 considered the main course for each per-
262 son: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish
574 broth prepared from dough and ground
272 chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their offspring. The habitations include a hut, 342 343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus [417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. 343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom 417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

412 (*eché*), hoe (*asron*), machete (*machit*), coa (*luk*), and digging stick (*avutel*). In a 243 few towns (Amatenango), where lands are [409] flat, the plow is made of wood and pulled by oxen but only for wheat farming. During [415] corn planting, the seed is carried by the [824] planter in a *morral* hung from the shoulder, [237] in a gourd with a large spout, or in containers made of armadillo shells. The harvested crops are placed in deep baskets, made of reed-grass, or in big pita (*chojak*) [412] net bags. The ear of corn is cleared of its [287] husk by a sharp bone or a small deer horn.

322 412 The axe, machete, and knife are used in wood working, which is very rudimentary, though handsaw and hammer have a place. With these tools the Indians make doors, tables, seats, small benches, shelves. Blom [534] and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:351) add that the Tzeltal near Ocosingo also make violins of a shape similar to the European type, but they have no resonance and poor tone. They also manufacture pipes and combs roughly [463] finished. No village of this group has specialists in carpentry to compare with the Chamulas (Tzotzil-speaking), who supply furniture at low cost to San Cristobal de las Casas and other places of the area.

324 412 Stone carving requires a pickaxe with one end very sharp, the other very flat to serve as a hammer, and a short wooden handle. This is the tool used in Tenejapa for making metates. These metates have three legs, but Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:338) mention metates without legs (Ocosingo municipio) which are made of volcanic stone found along the San Martin River. According to the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, the name of the metate is *chá*, its handle *kab-chá*.

412 An iron bar to break the ground, an axe, and a machete are the tools for building huts, chickencoops, sweat houses, and other small structures.

283 413 Another tool, used in the making of pita rope, is *karet*, which probably comes from the Spanish *carreta*. It consists of a wooden disc fixed to a tree trunk that is nailed to

[P.206-A]

283 413 the ground. This disc has two hooks to which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 [177] The most complex machine that the Tzeltal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

[415] 293 [415] [184]

224 411 [412] A gun has become very common in hunting. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over the fire. In the last few years metal pots, dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and especially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone) have been introduced. Other items that come from the city are flashlights, small kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (infrequently) battery radíos.

177 404 415 177 207 405 412 416

[P 206-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

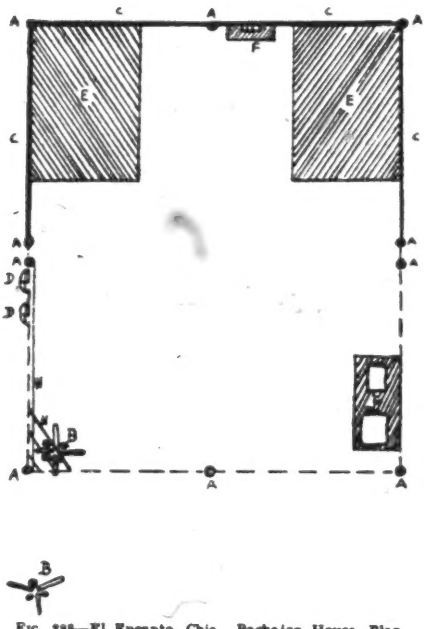

FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House. Plan. (Scale 1:100).

A. Uprights, kuk'up.
B. Fire.
C. Wall, p'ahk.
D. Rat Trap.
E. Beds.
F. Altar.
G. Table with Metates.
H. Racks.

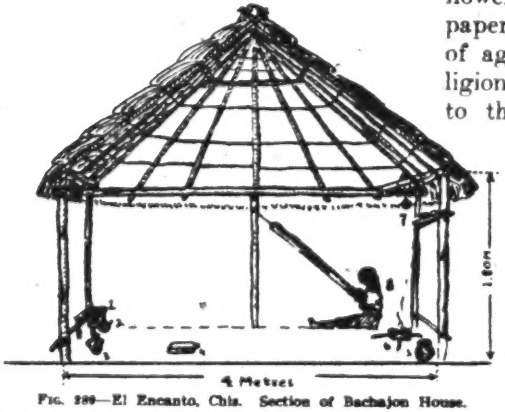

FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates.
2. Basket of clay, teavek lum.
3. Tenango water jar, k'ip.
4. Squatting chair, tsumate.
5. Olla, ocom.
6. Fire, kak'.
7. Racks, bartet, with packages.
8. Woman weaving.

a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, *ahk'en*, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called *skaltca-tut* ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding 354 on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *bartet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

352
412

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three-
[287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

342 [412]

only two, working without haste. The only tools used were machetes, which served even for digging the post-holes and for trenching.

The elementary frame consisted in two forked upright posts, *makan-te*, supporting the ridge-pole, *kabaiye-te*, four forked corner posts, *oix*, two plate-poles, *tsañ-te*, and gable-rafters, *sak-te*.

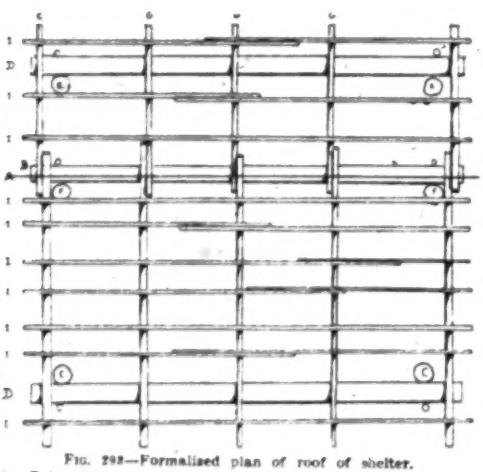

FIG. 283—Formalized plan of roof of shelter.
A. False ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
B. Ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
C. Gable rafters, sakte.
D. Plates, tsañte.
E. Corner posts, oix.
F. Center posts, makante.
G. Rafters, sakte (?).
I. Thatching-poles, butl.

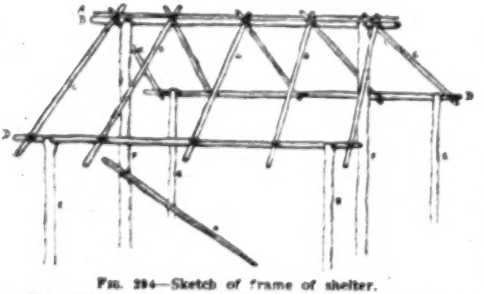

FIG. 284—Sketch of frame of shelter.
A. False ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
B. Ridge-pole, kabaiyete.
C. Gable rafters, sakte.
D. Plates, tsañte.
E. Corner posts, oix.
F. Center posts, makante.
G. Rafters, sakte (?).
H. Staging for work on under side of roof.

Three lighter poles were then laid on each side as rafters, and lashed to the ridge and plates with lianas. Thatching-rods were laid parallel to the ridge-pole across them, they were also lashed with lianas, the vines being laid along the rafters in a spiral, with a criss-cross hitch at each rod. A light false ridge-pole was laid over the true one, resting in the crotches of the crossed gable-rafters. It was said that this was also called *kabaiyete*. Projecting ends of sticks were then trimmed.

Palm-leaves were gathered in bundles of four, tied together with their own base-fronds. These were laid on in the manner of shingles, and the stems tied down to the thatching rods with a spiral running liana similar to that binding the poles. As the leaves are over a meter long, only four rows were needed to cover the long side of the roof, allowing a considerable over-hang, although more would have been used in a permanent dwelling. A row of over-lapping leaves was laid on top of and parallel to the false ridge-pole, bound down, and secured with yet another light stick.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half-way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 23 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 [482] The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry small burdens. They are made of hennequen or ixtla cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

[285]

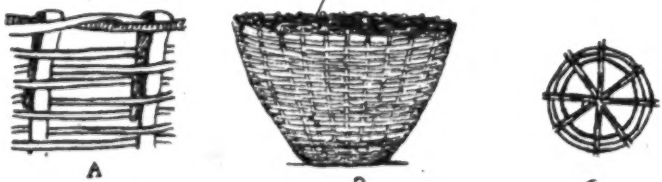

FIG. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim. B. Basket, height 23 c.m. C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

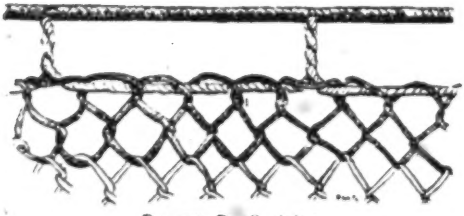

FIG. 305—Detail of Net.

FIG. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Cancuc. The istla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand, rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 412 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an occasional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair.

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 30 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuix*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance.

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet.

FIG. 307—Pipe.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house.

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

the roots of each plant so that it will be protected. One farmer commented on this process: "The face of the earth remains loose. Thus the corn remains of one heart. Nothing dies because the soil is moved, and the tender shoots begin to grow. When the second hoeing is finished, God looks at it to see that the corn matures." In the second hoeing, any corn which has grown between hillocks is pulled out so it will not deprive the main stalks of strength.

When the corn has matured, the stalks are doubled over to hasten the drying process. The mature cobs are left on the doubled-over stalks for about two weeks to ensure the maximum drying of the kernels before har-

TABLE 6. Schedule of Activities in Corn Production

Activity	*Month*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Clear irrigation ditches	Oct.	6		Machete, forked stick
Fence fields	Nov.	4		Machete, ax
Cut stalks of last year's crop; burn leaves and weeds	Dec.	4		Machete, forked stick
Plow land 3 times	Jan.	3	Oxen	Plow
Clear irrigation ditches	Feb.	2		Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land and leave 6 days	Feb.	2		
Select seed and put in water, leaving overnight	Mar.	1	Wife	
Measure rows and distance between hills so there will be 5 handspans between each hillock; plant corn	Mar.	1		Digging stick, string, net bag
Irrigate planted corn	Mar.	1		
First hoeing	Apr.	4	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Second hoeing	May	3	2 or 3 men	Hoe
Fix irrigated ditches	June	1		Machete
Outside employment	July–Aug.			
Double over corn and leave 15 days	Sept.	4		
Pick corn; put in net bag and degrain cobs with few kernels; carry home harvest.	Oct.	5	Wife, horse	Net bags, sticks,

SOURCE: Information from a farmer possessing ½ hectare of irrigated land in center. He has no sons and one married daughter, whose husband works in sawmill.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff						Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

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Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition:

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

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342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs. [335]

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice. [554]

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table [778] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and [322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and 415 435 439 workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving [412] ware for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine 435 415 for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the 177 size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

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[P. 198 G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel affection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the interior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the women sit inside in a semicircle.

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805 lating the time of day; when I questioned them as to the hour, they were often as much as an hour off, usually behind.

Most activities are ordered with reference to the Gregorian calendar, but the twenty-day Maya calendrical month, defined as "twenty days or a month" is used in much the same way that we use "a fortnight." The In-
805 dians consider the moon to be an uncertain indicator of time, since "she
821 does not walk well." But the moon is important in the culture: people note its different phases and are especially aware of the phase under which a child is born—an important sign for the newborn's future. If a baby is
[856] born at the full moon, he is expected to mature more readily. The full
[087] moon also signifies a propitious time for undertaking certain activities, such as cutting wood for the main posts of a house and cutting palm for the roof.

The Daily Schedule

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462 Daily activities are organized by traditional economic pursuits. The woman is the first one to rise in the morning. She gets up at dawn, lights
[252] the fire, and sets a jar of water to boil for coffee. She grinds the nixtamal cooked the night before on the stone grinding board, or takes it to the mill
[412] in the center. She then makes tortillas either by hand or with a press; a re-
[177] cent innovation made of two hinged pieces of wood in which the ball of
[178] dough is set between pieces of plastic paper.

[264] The men of the household are served first, followed by the boys; the women and girls eat last. As soon as they have eaten, the men and boys who have finished the required three years of schooling go out to the
[481] fields to work. They walk single file even in the streets of the town, the fa-
[482] ther preceding his sons. Each carries a machete, net bag, tumpline, and
[411] sheepskin back-protector if he plans to carry any loads. Many bring shot-
[224] guns as well in order to hunt for field rats, raccoon, or the burrowing animals they find in the fields.

After the men leave, the women go to the porch and "seize their work."
[857] The children go to school, which begins at eight-thirty in the morning
[872] and continues until five o'clock in the evening. They return home for
[264] lunch, a meal of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans or chayote when it is in season.